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interdependence in commerce and finance, because of common intellectual interests, democratic ideals and the existence of international organizations, unions, bureaus and other institutions which are doing their work irrespective of national boundaries, and which tend to make international war hateful, unprofitable and (unless provoked by armaments) unlikely to occur; in view, also, of the gigantic cost of maintaining an armed peace that has brought Europe to the verge of bankruptcy, is hindering the material and social development of America and even threatens to overwhelm in blood the civilization which has been so long maturing; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we request the President and Congress of the United States, in dealing with other nations, to depend as little as possible upon the show and use of force, and as much as possible upon reason, goodwill and justice; and that we especially ask that the people's money shall not be wasted in building and maintaining fortifications on the Panama Canal until our method of neutralization has first been tried and failed, and that addition shall not be made to the present strength of our navy until inclusive arbitration treaties have been offered to all the great nations and have been refused by them."

Charles Sumner and the Peace Cause.

At the recent celebration in Boston, on January 6, of the centennial of the birth of Charles Sumner, at which the various aspects of Sumner's great work were commemorated by various speakers, Edwin D. Mead, at the afternoon meeting in Park Street Church, treated Sumner's lifelong service for the cause of international peace.

Mr. Mead expressed his profound gratitude that Park Street Church, with its noble spire pointing to heaven, still stands by Boston Common. There, he said, may it ever stand; and as the years go on may it become the place of many meetings as influential in the cause of righteousness as the illustrious meetings which have been held within its walls in the past! Hardly had the church been reared when it received a new consecration by having sung within it for the first time the beautiful hymn, "My Country 'tis of Thee," which has become the dearest of all our national hymns to the popular heart. That hymn sang of our country as the "sweet land of liberty" at a time when the country was half free and half slave; but it truly expressed the Republic's ideal, and truly prophesied the thing which should be.

Here in 1829, on the Fourth of July, Garrison made his first speech in Boston in his war against slavery; and here twenty years later, in 1849, Charles Sumner made his greatest speech in his lifelong war against war. There stand in Boston statues of Sumner, Garrison, Andrew, Horace Mann, Channing and Theodore Parker. Every one of these great warriors against slavery was a warrior against war. When the International Peace Congress was held in Boston in 1904, the foreign delegates went to Mt. Auburn and laid wreaths upon the graves of Sumner, Channing, Noah Worcester, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes and Phillips Brooks, the seven great apostles of peace whose bodies rest there. They might have gone to Concord and laid a wreath upon the grave of Emerson; and they might have gone to Amesbury and laid a wreath upon the grave of Whittier. All of these men were active workers in the peace cause, which has become the commanding cause of our own time, as most of them were active in the anti-slavery cause, which was the specially commanding cause of their generation. Mr. Carnegie has rightly said that, as the great duty of Lincoln's generation was to put a stop to man-selling, so the great duty of our generation is to put a stop to man-killing. These

two great causes of human rights go together; and as we commemorate to-day the greatest champion of anti-slavery in the Senate, we remember with gratitude and honor that he was also the greatest champion in his day of the cause of peace and the better organization of the world. The one cause, like the other, occupied his earnest thought and devotion during his whole manhood. It was indeed in the interest of the peace cause, and not in that of anti-slavery, that he began his public career, with his famous Fourth of July oration at Tremont Temple, in 1845, upon "The True Grandeur of Nations." The true grandeur of nations, he said powerfully to Boston and the country on that occasion, lies not in its roll of "famous victories," with their terrible harvest of slaughtered men, but in national service for the brotherhood of nations and the welfare of humanity.

In 1849, here in Park Street Church, he delivered his second great address upon the cause, the address entitled "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," an address yet more thorough and powerful than the first. His service for the cause continued untiringly. In 1870 came the searching address, delivered in many places in the country, upon "The Duel between France and Germany," in which he showed that wars are simply the duels of nations, and destined, like the duels between men, to give place to the judicial settlement of quarrels in the courts, as soon as nations become truly civilized. It is not too much to say that Charles Sumner's great addresses upon war and peace remain the most powerful impeachment of the war system in brief which even to-day is to be found in the libraries. When he died he bequeathed \$1,000 to Harvard University for an annual prize for the best essay by a student of the University upon the legal methods of superseding war. He emphasized in this the great importance of the education of our people to ideas of international peace and justice. Let us, on this great anniversary, devote ourselves anew to the information and training of our people in the noble principles for which Sumner stood his whole life long.

One Peril of the New Peace Movement.

BY PROF. WILLIAM I. HULL, SWARTHMORE COLLEGE.

When a ship which has traversed an uncharted ocean is finishing her voyage and entering some unknown port, it behooves her captain, pilot and crew to be especially watchful lest at any moment she strike her prow upon some hidden reef. So it is with the peace movement of our time. Its advocates have seen it sail so swiftly within the past dozen years over such notable leagues of progress that its haven already looms ahead and the lower lights are seen upon the shore. But between its present position and its promised haven there lie perils which must be avoided if the voyage is not to end in shipwreck or be deflected far down the coast or back to sea. Eternal vigilance must ever be the price of genuine and lasting success.

The peril of the peace movement which it is the design of this brief article to signalize is the strong and growing desire to throw overboard the principle of the equality of sovereign states. This principle has been regarded as an essential plank in the ship which has borne the family of nations from the *De jure belli ac pacis* of Hugo Grotius to the second Conference at The Hague.

It is quite easy to understand why there should be at the present time an especially strong demand that this principle, hitherto cherished by all the world and regarded as fundamental in international relations, should now be discarded. When it is seen, for example, that some of the great powers are earnest advocates of a world-treaty of obligatory arbitration and of the Court of Arbitral Justice, and that these two great steps are blocked at the Hague Conference and afterwards by an adherence to the principle of the equality of sovereign states, it is entirely explicable that the advocates of these measures — especially if they happen to be citizens of one of the great powers — should grow impatient with the old-world principle above noted, and denounce it as a rule henceforth in international relations.

On the other hand, it is entirely natural that the small powers, and the great power opponents of the two measures noted above, should combat this impatience and denunciation, and call to the support of this almost world-old principle all the reasoned common-sense of the international law of the past, as well as the danger of incurring evils we know not of by departing from it in the future.

To the student of American history this international controversy recalls vividly the controversy which raged on the eve of the formation of our Republic, and which, until it was allayed by a happy compromise, threatened to dissolve the Constitutional Convention and to dissipate all hopes of forming the Union. In the arguments of those Americans, Britons and Frenchmen, who are now urging the repudiation of the principle of the equality of sovereign states, — in the interest of progress, — we hear echoes of the Virginia, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania arguments for "representation according to population"; in the arguments of those Latin-Americans, Central Europeans and Balkans who are now defending the equality of sovereign states, — in the interest of present legal status and historic right, — we hear echoes of the Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware arguments for the "equal representation of states."

The Connecticut Compromise solved the problem for America and enabled our Union to be born. A new Connecticut Compromise is clearly needed to solve this international problem of to-day. No permanently peaceful and successful Union was possible for us without it in 1787; no permanently peaceful and successful arbitral court and jurisdiction are possible for the world without it to-day.

The Constitution of 1787 provided for the inauguration of the Union on its adoption by nine of the thirteen states; but the Union was not entered upon until eleven states had adopted it, nor did it seem entirely assured until "Little Rhody" had entered it. To override the objections of the small powers to-day, or to forge ahead regardless of them, will not result in permanent triumph for the peace cause. Adequate provision must be made by which they may adhere voluntarily in the future to the new court and its jurisdiction.

And much more than this: The night of partial alliances is passing; the day of approximate unanimity of the family of nations in conference at The Hague has dawned. The permanent steps of international progress must be taken within the conference, or the conference itself will come to an end through the refusal of states to participate in it, and those measures decided

upon outside of it will be constantly caballed against, and will give rise to hostile alliances of malcontents both within and without the agreement.

An Upper House of the Hague Conference must be formed based upon the equality of sovereign states, but amenable, as is the United States Senate, to the will of the peoples; a Lower House of the Hague Conference must be formed based upon direct representation of the peoples. Whether this direct representation shall be according to population, to foreign commerce, to merchant marine or to "power," some new Ellsworth, Sherman and Madison must convince us. But its solution must be found if the Union auspiciously begun at The Hague shall develop — like the Union of 1789 out of the Continental Congress — into a genuine and helpful International Union; and when found it will promote both the swift and the permanent establishment of international peace.

Meanwhile the "World" view must triumph in the counsels of the nations, as the "Continental" view triumphed in the counsels of our fathers. Successful world measures must be agreed upon in an assembly of all the nations, with due regard to the equality of sovereign states, just as our great steps of national progress have been taken in a national assembly with due regard to the equality of the constituent states. Of course the day may come when all the "little fellows" may coalesce, as in the case of the Latin-Americans and Balkans, and when the family of nations may consist of a dozen great powers only. But that time is not yet; and even when it does come there will still be need — unless absolute uniformity shall have been attained among the dozen great powers — for the "International Connecticut Compromise," which is so sorely needed at the present time.

The Japanese Government and Naval Expansion.

BY H. LOOMIS, AGENT OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY IN JAPAN.

There have been various reports that the Japanese government was expending vast sums of money in enlarging her navy and preparing for some future great conflict. How groundless are such reports can be learned by a knowledge of what has actually been done and what it is proposed to do in the future.

Since the termination of the war with Russia the additions to the Japanese navy have simply been sufficient to replace the vessels that have become too old to be of service and have been cast aside. And even to do this has taxed the country to the utmost. With the loss of fifty to seventy-five million dollars by the recent floods the conditions are still worse, and it remains to be seen what will be the outcome.

One of the leading statesmen, Mr. Matsuda, says: "The people are groaning under the heavy burden of taxation and the slightest addition will be enough to crush them. The government's first duty is to lessen the burden." In one of the Tokyo papers is a recent article on "The Cause of Dullness in Business," in which the author writes: "It is the heavy taxation borne by the people during and since the war that is robbing the people of their purchasing power, and producing depression in the commerce and industries of the country."